

117TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 4546

To assist those subject to politically motivated charges in Turkey, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JULY 20, 2021

Mr. JEFFRIES (for himself and Ms. CHENEY) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on Financial Services, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

A BILL

To assist those subject to politically motivated charges in Turkey, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

4 (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the
5 “Turkey Human Rights Promotion Act of 2021”.

6 (b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents for
7 this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
- Sec. 2. Findings.
- Sec. 3. Definitions.
- Sec. 4. Statement of policy.

Sec. 5. Sense of Congress on press freedom.
Sec. 6. Sense of Congress on internet freedom.
Sec. 7. Sense of Congress on protecting lawyers and promoting fair trials.
Sec. 8. Sense of Congress on accountability for human rights violations.
Sec. 9. Political prisoners assistance.

1 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

2 Congress makes the following findings:

3 (1) The United States values its longstanding
4 alliance with the Republic of Turkey and its friend-
5 ship with the people of Turkey, and seeks to pro-
6 mote their democratic aspirations.

7 (2) Actions taken by the Government of Turkey
8 in the aftermath of the attempted coup of July 2016
9 have significantly expanded the government's crack-
10 down on freedoms of expression, peaceful assembly,
11 and association. Freedom House assessed Turkey to
12 be "not free" in its Freedom in the World 2021 re-
13 port.

14 (3) Since July 2016, Turkish authorities have
15 detained tens of thousands of people they accused of
16 aiding the coup attempt or supporting terrorism,
17 sweeping up journalists, opposition politicians, dis-
18 sidents, and others. The end of the state of emer-
19 gency in 2018 has not led to an improvement in fun-
20 damental freedoms in Turkey as the Government of
21 Turkey has codified some of the provisions from the
22 state of emergency into law.

1 (4) The Government of Turkey has used the at-
2 tempted coup as justification for a broader crack-
3 down.

4 (5) The 2020 Country Reports on Human
5 Rights Practices: Turkey states, “Under broad
6 antiterror legislation passed in 2018 the government
7 continued to restrict fundamental freedoms and
8 compromised the rule of law. Since the 2016 coup
9 attempt, authorities have dismissed or suspended
10 more than 60,000 police and military personnel and
11 approximately 125,000 civil servants, dismissed one-
12 third of the judiciary, arrested or imprisoned more
13 than 90,000 citizens, and closed more than 1,500
14 nongovernmental organizations on terrorism-related
15 grounds, primarily for alleged ties to the movement
16 of cleric Fethullah Gulen, whom the government ac-
17 cused of masterminding the coup attempt and des-
18 ignated as the leader of the ‘Fethullah Terrorist Or-
19 ganization.’”.

20 (6) A 2020 Reuters investigative press report
21 revealed that the Government of Turkey terminated
22 4,000 judges and prosecutors since 2016. A 2020
23 Human Rights Watch report highlighted the contin-
24 ued arbitrary detention of lawyers, which runs con-
25 trary to Turkey’s obligations under the International

1 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, done at New
2 York December 19, 1966, the Convention for the
3 Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental
4 Freedoms, done at Rome November 4, 1950 (com-
5 monly known as the “European Convention on
6 Human Rights”), and other human rights obliga-
7 tions.

8 (7) Turkey is the world’s second worst jailer of
9 journalists, according to the Committee to Protect
10 Journalists.

11 (8) President Recep Tayyip Erdogan began a
12 crackdown on journalism before the 2016 coup at-
13 tempt, which he then intensified. The Committee to
14 Protect Journalists estimated that Turkey was hold-
15 ing at least 37 journalists in jail at the end of 2020.
16 According to a September 18, 2019, joint statement
17 by civil society organizations, at least 180 media
18 outlets have been forcibly closed since the coup at-
19 tempt of which Kurdish-language and Kurdish-foc-
20 cused media outlets are especially vulnerable.

21 (9) The Government of Turkey has also tar-
22 geted writers and academics. Of roughly 2,000 aca-
23 demics who signed a January 2016 petition calling
24 for a restart to peace negotiations between the gov-
25 ernment and the armed Kurdistan Workers’ Party,

1 more than 700 scholars were criminally charged with
2 making propaganda for a terrorist organization.

3 (10) The Government of Turkey continues its
4 unjust, 3-year detention of civil society leader
5 Osman Kavala. In 2017, Turkish authorities
6 charged Kavala and 15 others with “attempting to
7 overthrow the government or to prevent it from per-
8 forming its duties” based on ill-founded accusations
9 regarding the group’s role in 2013 protests. In De-
10 cember 2019, the European Court of Human Rights
11 (ECHR) ruled that Kavala’s detention took place in
12 the absence of sufficient evidence that he had com-
13 mitted an offence, in violation of his right to liberty
14 and security under the European Convention on
15 Human Rights. Turkey responded by acquitting
16 Kavala, but immediately rearresting him under new
17 charges relating to the 2016 coup attempt and espi-
18 onage and has continued to ignore the binding
19 ECHR ruling.

20 (11) In 2017, Turkish police arrested Amnesty
21 International Turkey’s board chair, Taner Kiliç, and
22 its director, Idil Eser, charging them as members of
23 a terrorist organization. The charges against Kiliç
24 were based on the mere allegation, later found to be
25 false, that he had downloaded a messaging applica-

1 tion. Yet in July 2020, a Turkish court sentenced
2 Kılıç to over 6 years in prison and Eser was sen-
3 tenced to more than 2 years in prison.

4 (12) The Government of Turkey continues its
5 unjust detention of Selhattin Demirtaş, a Kurdish
6 politician detained with other members of the Peo-
7 ple's Democratic Party on November 4, 2016.
8 Demirtas was a member of parliament at the time
9 of his arrest for allegedly “carrying out terrorist
10 propaganda” by speaking in support of peace nego-
11 tiations with the Kurdistan Workers' Party. The Eu-
12 ropean Court of Human Rights ruled in November
13 2018 that his detention “had pursued the predomi-
14 nant ulterior purpose of stifling pluralism and lim-
15 iting freedom of political debate, which was at the
16 very core of the concept of a democratic society”. In
17 December 2020, the ECHR ruled that Turkey must
18 “immediately release” Demirtas from prison, which
19 Turkey continues to ignore.

20 (13) The Government of Turkey has targeted
21 lawyers, with particular focus on criminal defense
22 lawyers, prosecuting them for discharging their pro-
23 fessional duties and associating them, without evi-
24 dence, with the alleged crimes of their clients. Fair
25 trial rights and protections for lawyers have been re-

1 stricted just as they are most critically needed given
2 mass detentions and the wider crackdown on dissent.
3 Police have also intimidated lawyers and obstructed
4 their work

5 (14) The Government of Turkey heavily re-
6 stricts and censors the internet. In 2019, the gov-
7 ernment blocked more than 408,000 websites,
8 40,000 tweets, 10,000 YouTube videos, and 6,200
9 Facebook shares, and blocked Wikipedia between
10 2017 and 2020. In early 2021, the government en-
11 acted a new social media law, which threatens social
12 media companies that do not obey requests to re-
13 move content. Twitter, and its live video-streaming
14 services, are currently facing pressure in the form of
15 advertising bans by the Government of Turkey as a
16 result of their unwillingness to appoint local rep-
17 resentatives to handle government removal requests.

18 (15) Turkey ranks among the countries with
19 the highest number of content removal requests sent
20 to Twitter and Facebook, according to the compa-
21 nies' transparency reports.

22 (16) The Government of Turkey has dem-
23 onstrated a disregard for fundamental freedoms be-
24 yond Turkey's borders, including in the United
25 States. In 2016, members of President Erdogan's

1 security detail engaged in violence against journalists reporting on an event at the Brookings Institution.
2 During President Erdogan's May 2017 visit to Washington, DC, individuals from the Turkish Embassy grounds pushed past District of Columbia police officers to brutally attack individuals demonstrating peacefully in opposition to policies of the
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4 Government of Turkey.

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9 (17) The Government of Turkey has abused international institutions to target critics, “trig-
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gering a flood of Interpol ‘red notice’ requests to detain critics abroad”, according to Freedom House.

(18) Since 2014, the Government of Turkey has pursued opponents and critics in more than 30 countries, securing the renditions of at least 58 people without due process in what Freedom House has characterized as a “campaign of transnational repression”, unrivaled by any other country. In a March 3, 2021 report, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights stated that the increase in cases in arbitrary detention “may constitute crimes against humanity”.

(19) The Government of Turkey threatens to escalate its targeting of critics internationally, consistent with an overly broad domestic counterter-

1 rorism campaign. On October 30, 2019, President
2 Erdogan stated, “Some countries eliminate terrorists
3 whom they consider as a threat to their national se-
4 curity, wherever they are. Therefore, this means
5 those countries accept Turkey has the same right.
6 This includes the terrorists they shake hands with
7 and praise.” He added that he hoped to deliver
8 “good news” on the matter soon.

9 **SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.**

10 In this Act:

11 (1) POLITICAL PRISONER.—The term “political
12 prisoner” means a person who has been deprived of
13 his or her personal liberty if—

14 (A) the detention has been imposed in vio-
15 lation of one of the fundamental guarantees set
16 out in the European Convention on Human
17 Rights, particularly—

18 (i) freedom of thought, conscience,
19 and religion;

20 (ii) freedom of expression and infor-
21 mation; and

22 (iii) freedom of assembly and associa-
23 tion;

1 (B) the detention has been imposed for
2 purely political reasons without connection to
3 any offense;

4 (C) for political motives, the length of the
5 detention or its conditions are clearly out of
6 proportion to the offense of which the person
7 has been found guilty or is suspected;

8 (D) for political motives, he or she is de-
9 tained in a discriminatory manner as compared
10 to other persons; or

11 (E) the detention is the result of pro-
12 ceedings which were clearly unfair and appear
13 to be connected with political motives of the au-
14 thorities.

15 (2) PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE.—The term
16 “prisoner of conscience” means any person who—

17 (A) is imprisoned or otherwise physically
18 restricted solely for the peaceful exercise of his
19 or her human rights; and

20 (B) has not used violence or advocated vio-
21 lence or hatred.

22 **SEC. 4. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

23 It is the policy of the United States—

24 (1) to support democracy, peace, and prosperity
25 in Turkey;

1 (2) to oppose the abuse of counterterrorism au-
2 thorities, including targeting journalists, political op-
3 ponents, dissidents, minorities (including Kurds),
4 and others engaged in exercising their right to free-
5 doms of expression, peaceful assembly, or associa-
6 tion;

7 (3) to consider those unfairly detained or im-
8 prisoned under counterterrorism authorities on po-
9 litically motivated grounds to be prisoners of con-
10 science or political prisoners, as appropriate, unless
11 there is probative evidence of specific criminal mis-
12 conduct presented in proceedings that comply with
13 international fair trial standards;

14 (4) to use all diplomatic tools to advocate that
15 all prisoners of conscience and political prisoners in
16 Turkey should be released;

17 (5) to support and pressure the Government of
18 Turkey in the repeal or amendment of—

19 (A) all anti-terrorism laws and regulations
20 that allow the government to unjustly target
21 journalists, political opponents, dissidents, and
22 minorities;

23 (B) all laws and regulations that violate
24 the right to freedoms of expression, peaceful as-
25 sembly, or association in a manner not per-

1 mitted by international legal standards, includ-
2 ing laws and regulations that seek to punish
3 those who insult political figures or denigrate
4 the Turkish nation or state institutions; and

5 (C) all laws and regulations that violate
6 the right to a fair trial; and

7 (6) to oppose the export to Turkey by any
8 country of surveillance technologies, including soft-
9 ware, that could be used to monitor the activities of
10 journalists, political opponents, dissidents, or minori-
11 ties.

12 **SEC. 5. SENSE OF CONGRESS ON PRESS FREEDOM.**

13 It is the sense of Congress that—

14 (1) the Government of Turkey must take steps
15 to significantly improve the dire climate for journal-
16 ists and those supporting the journalism profession,
17 including—

18 (A) ending the enforcement of draconian
19 laws and regulations that restrict freedom of
20 expression; and

21 (B) releasing all journalists and media
22 workers who have been imprisoned for fulfilling
23 their professional responsibilities;

24 (2) the Department of State should provide as-
25 sistance and warnings of impending politically moti-

1 vated detention or harm to journalists and media
2 workers in danger in Turkey, regardless of citizen-
3 ship status, including journalists working for Kurd-
4 ish media organizations;

5 (3) United States Government officials should
6 prioritize demands to release unfairly detained jour-
7 nalists and media workers in their communications
8 with Turkish officials; and

9 (4) press freedom and the freedom of expres-
10 sion are fundamental human rights and should be
11 upheld and protected in Turkey and everywhere.

12 **SEC. 6. SENSE OF CONGRESS ON INTERNET FREEDOM.**

13 It is the sense of Congress that—

14 (1) the Government of Turkey must cease its
15 ongoing crackdown on free expression on the inter-
16 net, including by repealing or amending laws that
17 allow the government to block a website or remove
18 content from the website if there is sufficient sus-
19 picion that the site is insulting political figures;

20 (2) the Department of State should support
21 and pressure the Government of Turkey in halting
22 its frequent requests that social media companies
23 block accounts and content of journalists and media
24 outlets, ending its blocking of Wikipedia, and ensur-
25 ing that the Radio and Television Supreme Council

1 does not arbitrarily restrict online streaming services
2 through a costly and opaque licensing regime; and

3 (3) escalating controls regulating internet use
4 are an attempt by the Government of Turkey to si-
5 lence one of the last platforms for independent jour-
6 nalism in the country.

7 **SEC. 7. SENSE OF CONGRESS ON PROTECTING LAWYERS**

8 **AND PROMOTING FAIR TRIALS.**

9 It is the sense of Congress that—

10 (1) the Government of Turkey must—

11 (A) halt its indiscriminate detention and
12 prosecution of lawyers, judges, prosecutors, and
13 court officials, and its targeting of lawyers' as-
14 sociations;

15 (B) repeal laws restricting the right of law-
16 yers to discharge their professional duties, the
17 rights of suspects to legal counsel, and the right
18 of lawyer-client privileged communication;

19 (C) ensure that lawyers can visit detainees
20 in police custody, and remind police and pros-
21 ecutors of the protected role of lawyers under
22 Article 14 of the International Covenant on
23 Civil and Political Rights, Articles 5 and 6 of
24 the European Convention on Human Rights,

1 and the United Nations Basic Principles on the
2 Role of Lawyers; and

3 (D) end the practice of prosecuting lawyers
4 based on whom they have represented as cli-
5 ents;

6 (2) the Department of State should pressure
7 the Government of Turkey—

8 (A) to abolish extended pretrial detention,
9 consistent with Turkey's Judicial Reform Strat-
10 egy;

11 (B) to reverse the April 2017 amendment
12 to Article 159 of the Constitution, which allows
13 for political control over the nomination proce-
14 dures to the Council of Judges and Prosecutors;
15 and

16 (C) to ensure the independence of judges
17 and of the judiciary system, with particular
18 focus on the Ministry of Justice; and

19 (3) the independence of any country's judicial
20 system suffers when lawyers—

21 (A) are subject to intimidation and harass-
22 ment in their work; and

23 (B) are identified with the causes of their
24 clients.

1 **SEC. 8. SENSE OF CONGRESS ON ACCOUNTABILITY FOR**
2 **HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.**

3 It is the sense of Congress that if the Government
4 of Turkey does not promptly take effective steps to ad-
5 dress the human rights violations described in this Act—

6 (1) the President of the United States should
7 impose sanctions pursuant to the Global Magnitsky
8 Human Rights Accountability Act (subtitle F of title
9 XII of Public Law 114–328; 22 U.S.C. 2656 note)
10 with respect to officials of the Government of Tur-
11 key found responsible for—

12 (A) the detention of prisoners of conscience
13 and political prisoners;

14 (B) the politically motivated detention of
15 journalists;

16 (C) restricting of freedom of free expres-
17 sion through social media; and

18 (D) other gross violations of internationally
19 recognized human rights;

20 (2) the President should confirm that United
21 States security assistance provided to the Govern-
22 ment of Turkey is fully consistent with the condi-
23 tions mandated in section 36 of the Arms Export
24 Control Act ((22 U.S.C. 2776)) and the human
25 rights provisions contained in section 620M of the

1 Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, (22 U.S.C. 2378d);
2 and

3 (3) the Secretary of the Treasury should in-
4 struct the United States executive director of each
5 international financial institution to oppose any loan,
6 grant, policy, or strategy determined to be directly
7 enabling the Government of Turkey to violate the
8 human rights of its citizens.

9 **SEC. 9. POLITICAL PRISONERS ASSISTANCE.**

10 The Secretary of State shall provide assistance to
11 civil society organizations in Turkey that work to secure
12 the release of prisoners of conscience and political pris-
13 oners in Turkey, and to current and former prisoners of
14 conscience and political prisoners in Turkey, including—

15 (1) support for the documentation of human
16 rights violations with respect to prisoners of con-
17 science and politically motivated prisoners;

18 (2) support for advocacy in Turkey to raise
19 awareness of issues relating to prisoners of con-
20 science and political prisoners;

21 (3) support for efforts to repeal or amend laws
22 or regulations that are used to imprison individuals
23 as prisoners of conscience or political prisoners;

- 1 (4) support, including travel costs, and legal
2 fees, for families of prisoners of conscience and polit-
3 ical prisoners;
- 4 (5) support for health, including mental health,
5 and post-incarceration assistance in gaining access
6 to education and employment opportunities or other
7 forms of reparation to enable former prisoners of
8 conscience and political prisoners to resume a nor-
9 mal life; and
- 10 (6) the delegation of specific United States mis-
11 sion staff who will observe trials in politically moti-
12 vated cases, including in Southeast Turkey.

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